

The Soviet Genius Who Spied for Stalin

Leon Theremin—CIA Nemesis

Benjamin B. Fischer



Theremin [was] a Russian 'Thomas Edison,' whose paradoxical life reflected the contradictions and convolutions of the East-West conflict.

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Benjamin B. Fischer serves on the CIA History Staff.

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Much of the history of the Cold War remains hidden in classified archives. From time to time, however, stories emerge that cause us to stop and think about what a strange epoch it was. One of the most intriguing revelations to come to light concerns Leon Theremin, a Russian "Thomas Edison" whose paradoxical life reflected the contradictions and convolutions of the East-West conflict. Theremin traveled from priviledged Kremlin circles to the Gulag and back again, and, during a ten-year sojourn in the United States, hobnobbed with the rich and famous and made and lost fortunes while spying for Stalin. Americans believe that creativity demands freedom, yet Theremin did some of his best scientific work while imprisoned by one of the most repressive regimes of the 20th century. This brilliant scientist crossed paths with the CIA more than once-to our detriment. He appears in Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's novel. The First Circle, as Prvanchikov, an engineer ordered to build a sophisticated voice encryption system. In real life, Theremin's story proved stranger than fiction. (U)

Behind the Eagle's Beak (U)

Moscow, 4 July 1945: While hosting the traditional American national day festivities, Ambassador Averell Harriman received a delegation of Soviet Pioneers, a youth group much like the Boy Scouts. As an expression of friendship between wartime allies, the Pioneers presented the envoy with a replica of the Great Seal of the United States of America. The Seal was made from a rare Russian wood and was hand-carved by a leading artisan. (U)

Hidden inside, behind the beak of the American eagle, was an unusual eavesdropping device. It had no wires, no conventional microphone, and no batteries—in short, nothing that would reveal its presence through conventional methods of detection.¹

The United States did not discover the device for another seven years and did not officially reveal its discovery until 1960. (U)

¹ For accounts of the Great Seal bugging, see Tom Mangold, Cold Warrior—James Jesus Angleton: The CA's Master Spy Hunter (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), pp. 256-257: David Wise. Molehunt: The Secret Search for Triations That Shattered the CIA (New York: Random House, 1992), p. 14; and Albert Glinsky, Theremin Ether Music and Espionage (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), pp. 259-260. 271-274, 304, 335, and 338 (U)



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Discovery and Disclosure (U)

Athorigh some details have leaked out, the full story of the discovery of the sophisticated divice remains in classified (fies 3 Harriman had the seal bung it, his stroy or the second foot or Spaso House. Its residence in Moscow, which had once been the patanal home of a wealthy merchant. The bug—or cas ty resonator to use its technical name—remained there, like the proverbial fly on the wall, picking up.

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sensitive information curing the draw days of the early Cold War Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, who sticceeded Harriman as ambassador and was later appointed Director of Central Intelligence, had the seaf tenroved repaired, and cleaned in time for an official visit by Secretary of State George C. Marshall: Smith and Marshall discussed US policy toward the USSR waters range of the Eidden listening device C.

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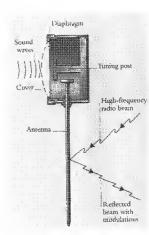
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The genius of the Soviet bug was its simplicity.



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van parked outside Spaso Hear(b)(3)(c)the ClA officer assigned to analyze the device, explained it by saving: "Technically it was a passing device... with an infinite life

expectancy. After analyzing

the easity resonates. US technienns built a device to activite it. The activating mechanism was then sent to the US Embassy in Moscow to test for additional secrets placed onin resonators. None were found (C)

Someone leaked part of the steay of the document of the sophisticated bag to the now defunct Washington Freeming Star in 1955- The Russians have become the world's experts in cruztion of such elecminic devales," the star exculinted. Nonetheless, the United States kept the cavity resemble under edition wateruntil May 1964. At that pour Heary Cabot Lodge, US Andressador to the United Nations, unveiled a replica of the device. with the Great Seal before the General Assembly to counter a Soviet propaganda banage after the shootdown of the U.3 by olding Personal Consession of by Laureis Gary Fraye's, (1)

Alarms Go Off (U)

todae's performance gave the American public its first glaupse into the secret world of elecfrome intelligence garbering The disclosure heightened concent that America laggest behind the Russians, a percepfrom that was real confined to the public m-large, (t)

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A 1957 CIA Inspector General's

report stated finiv that the Mos-

cow discovery. had set off a chain exaction, the effects of which are still being felt. In the commonde of the CTV KGB special mipset was also for the branching of Spanific a lew months later. The Societ device confirmed—or scenned to

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The Soviet device seemed to confirm that the CIA was being beaten in the espionage technology race.

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ofbar, toivez co nottambled systems was not only sparse. but also dispersed among numothers Technical counterries sur s became un uigent fastional scennity matter requiring White House-level attention and a new national policy The perceived threat was so serious. that, in December 1956, the National Security Council creared the Special Communities on fechagai Surveillance Counter Measures to coordinate techniscal counterings area for the catre latelligence Community. A CIA deputy director for security was assigned to c.

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Soviet Faust (U)

What the CIA did not knoward world not learn until near the end of the Gold War—was that the Moscow bug that trig gored such awners in Wash ington was the bandiwork of an

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aristocratic genius named Leon

Theremin. 13 Theremin was born

Lev Sergeyevich Termin in St.

Petersburg in 1896 into a fam-

ily of nobles descended from

immigrated to Russia in the 18th

century.19 He was a child prod-

French Huguenots who had

igy and experimented with

infancy, before entering col-

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communism was Soviet politi-

cal power plus electrification of

the entire country. Lenin appar-

ently recognized Theremin's

13 Information in this and subsequent

paragraphs on the details of Theremin's

life are based on: Bulat M. Galevev. "Soviet Faust in the Country of the Yellow

Devil," website http://he.net/~enternet/

2002; Bulat M. Galeyev. "Light and Shad-

ows of a Great Life. In Commemoration

Electronic Art." website http://

and hundreds of articles. (U)

moving to New York in 1927. (U)

isast/journal/journal96/LMJ6/ga-

teci/faust/faust htm, accessed 15 April

Theremin believed, was the

would use technology to

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Lenin's fanıous dictum that

lege. He graduated on the eve

radio battalion of the Imperial

Army, and, despite his origins,

embraced the Bolshevik Revolu-

electricity, then still in its

The Moscow bug that triggered such anxiety in Washington was the handiwork of an aristocratic genius named Leon Theremin.

gifts and heralded him as a "proletarian" genius, noble origins notwithstanding. (U)

Theremin's name was not unknown in America: indeed he lived in New York from 1927 to 1938, where he mixed easily with Gotham's artistic. scientific, and corporate elites. His New York notoriety derived from his many inventions, but he was best known as the pioneer of electronic music. He was the inventor of the "theremin," the eponymous instrument that many consider the grandfather of all modern electronically made music. (U)

Theremin had invented the "etherphone," as his instrument was first called, in 1919, while he was still an undergraduate studying physics. Lenin requested a demonstration in 1922, and Theremin put on a show for him in the Kremlin. 15 In 1927, the inventor was permitted to leave the USSR and take his show on the road, first

to Berlin and then to other European capitals, before he arrived in New York City for a ten-year stay. He put on soldout concerts at the Royal Albert Hall in London, the Paris Opera House, and Carnegie Hall in New York City. Theremin hoped to revolutionize the performance of classical musichis 1928 concert at Carnegie Hall featuring ten theremins made him the toast of the town. (U)

The novelty of the instrument turned the music world on its ear. "Surely." New York Times music critic Janet Maslin wrote, "the theremin is the weirdest of all musical instruments."16 It looked like a portable podium, not unlike those in many conference rooms, with a horizontal loop on one side and a vertical antenna on top. It was played by moving one's hands in the air around the antennas. One hand was used to control the pitch, and the other to control the volume. (U)

The theremin briefly appeared to have brighter commercial prospects than radio, which was just coming into widespread use. In 1929, Radio Corporation of America (RCA) president David Sarnoff purchased the patent to the theremin with the intention of selling one to every American household that could afford one. The instrument,

¹⁵ He also demonstrated his inventions for Stalin, In 1927, Theremin was called to the Kremlin to show his latest invention, a television set with 100 lines of resolution on a five-foot-square screen It took the Radio Corporation of America until 1931 to design a screen with greater resolution. (U)

of the One-Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Leon Theremin, Pioneer of mitpress2,mit.edu/e-journals/Leonardo/ leyevintro html, accessed 24 January 2002, and Glinsky, op. ctt. Galeyev. a Russian musicologist, and Glinsky, an American musicologist, are the leading experts on, and biographers of Theremin. Overall, a bibliography of works on Theremin would run to dozens of books 14 Therenin anglicized his name after

¹⁶ Janet Maslin, "Beyond the Theremin," The New York Times, 8 September 1995, p. 8-C. (U)

however, eventually flopped. It was difficult to play, expensive to produce, and never caught on with either musicians or the public. (U)

The decade that Theremin spent in New York was fittingly one of prodigious technical achievement and repeated business failure. He continued working on his electronic musical instruments and made numerous contacts in the business and artistic worlds. Theremin had a practical side and a nose for things that could make him money in America. He created an electronic crib alarm after the infant son of Charles and Anne Lindbergh was kidnapped. The US Bureau of Prisons hired him to build the world's first metal detector at Alcatraz. That invention did not work properly, and Theremin lost his contract, pushing him over the brink into bankruptcy. All told, several small fortunes passed through his hands. (U)

Theremin eventually settled into a kind of lab-cum-salon in a townhouse on Manhattan's West 54th Street owned by a wealthy patron. There he devised a multitude of devices that must have seemed like pure science fiction, including electronic lighting shows, an electronic dance platform, and even a prototype color television system. Artists, musicians, composers, dancers, and choreographers all beat a path to his door, seeking to fuse art with science in the dawning of a new technological age. (U)

All this while, however, Theremin was leading a double life. As he revealed for the first time in 1988 in a series of articles in Moscow News—revelations made possible by Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of glasnost—the brilliant inventor was a Soviet spy. ¹⁷ Jan Berzin, the founder and chief of the GRU (Soviet military intelligence), had recruited him and then sent him to Berlin and other European capitals to establish his cover story and make contacts. (U)

Theremin was already up in years when he began telling his story. His memory was not always sound, and he told different versions on separate occasions. His main mission. apparently, had been to obtain scientific and military intelligence from his contacts and to assess whether, in a future European conflict, the United Sates would be neutral, an ally, or a foe of the Soviet Union. Theremin told his Russian biographer in the 1980s that he had been the GRU rezident (chief of station) in New York and compared himself to Richard Sorge, the famous Soviet illegal whose statue stands in Moscow and whose face once adorned Soviet postage stamps. 18 With his American biographers, Theremin was more modest. He disclaimed any major espionage success (thus denying damage to American interests).

As an example, he cited a requirement to find out the diameter of a military aircraft muffler, observing that such matters had bored him. (U)

Theremin almost certainly was too modest—or too reticent. He hobnobbed with the cultural and artistic elite of New York and had wealthy patrons. His circle of acquaintances encompassed people with names like Rockefeller, Dupont, Morgan, and Ford. His contacts also included an obscure Army lieutenant colonel named Dwight D. Eisenhower and an Army major named Leslie Groves, who later managed the Manhattan Project. (U)

It seems likely that Theremin, who was often in debt despite the millions his inventions earned, may have used some of his money to support Soviet intelligence operations. 19 He incorporated one of his spin-off companies in Panama, using it to cover a GRU network that targeted the US military presence in the Canal Zone. He also laundered money for Amtorg. the Soviet state foreign trade company that provided cover for espionage and the Comintern's efforts to foment revolution in the West and in the Third World. (U)

This, unfortunately, is the sum and substance of what we know about Theremin's covert life in America, and even these

Glinsky, pp 320-334 (U)
 Galeyev, "Soviet Faust in the Country of the Yellow Devil." (U)

¹⁹ Glinsky, pp. 95-97. (U)

In 1939, Theremin was arrested in Moscow, the penalty in those paranoid times for having lived abroad.

ous reasons would have liked to see him in jail or at least before a judge and jury. (U)

By fleeing New York, however, Theremin jumped from the frying pan into the fire. In March 1939, he was arrested in Moscow, the penalty in those paranoid times for having lived abroad. He was charged with espionage and membership in a "fascist" organization—a generic charge—and sentenced to six vears in Soviet prison camps. Ironically, the Great Terror of 1937-1938 was winding down; had Theremin waited a little longer, he might not have been arrested. He was sent to Magadan, a gold-mining camp above the Arctic Circle in the Kolyma region, where temperatures fell to -94 degrees (F). A term at Magadan was in effect a death sentence. (U)

Theremin's genius saved him. Within a few months, Stalin's henchman and secret police chief, Lavrenty Beria, ordered Theremin removed from the camp and brought back to Moscow. Beria ran the Soviet Union's atomic research program and had an eye for scientific talent. He assigned Theremin to Central Design Bureau Number 29 of the Central State Aero-Hydrodynamic

Institute.21 Theremin worked on aviation instruments in Moscow until the bureau was relocated beyond the Urals to Omsk and then to Sverdlovsk, following the German invasion of June 1941. (U)

The Design Bureau was an example of a unique Stalinist institution known as a sharashka. Called "Islands of Paradise" in Aleksandr Solzhenitsvn's Gulag Archipelago, sharashkas were minimum security facilities with bearable living conditions that held some of the best educated and most brilliant Soviet scientists, engineers, and technicians. Many Soviet advances in space, military, and intelligence technology derived from the efforts of the faceless zeks, as the inmates were called. (U)

As the war wound down, Theremin was returned to Moscow again and assigned to a sharashka at Kuchino, near Moscow, which specialized in radio electronics and measuring devices. While there, he designed a beacon that was used to locate missing submarines and aircraft, as well as to locate supplies dropped clandestinely behind enemy lines. Theremin also served as the lead scientist on the M-803 vocoder, an analog speech encipherment system. (C)

bits of information are at times

Theremin's Russian biographer

called him the Soviet Faust, an

with Mephistopheles in order to

deal with Soviet intelligence in

allusion to Goethe's famous

character who makes a deal

achieve worldly success. In

Theremin's case, he made a

order to pursue his research

interests. As we shall see, he

extended this "deal" even after

returning to the Soviet Union,

against the United States and

becoming the CIA's nemesis.

Surviving the Gulag (U)

In September 1938, ten years

after arriving on American

a crew member, under an

set sail for home. For many

shores, Theremin, with GRU

help, boarded a Soviet vessel as

assumed name and identity, and

vears, his friends in New York

believed that he had been kid-

napped by Stalin's secret police.

But, as he told his Russian biog-

rapher in 1995, the decision to

leave was his own-he believed

that the Motherland would soon

return.20 Probably contributing

to Theremin's decision was the

fact that he was just one step

ahead of the INS, the IRS, the

Labor Department, and a host

patrons-all of whom for vari-

of business partners and

be at war and felt a duty to

turning his considerable talents

contradictory and incoherent.

²⁹ Galeyev, "Light and Shadows of a Great Life." (U)

²¹ For details of Theremin's work at the Institute, see Glinsky, pp. 230-236. 238-242. and 259. (U)

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Missing the order and pure research opportunities of [his life in detention], Theremin asked the KGB to hire him as a 'free' research scientist.

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storm"). It directed an infrared beam at window glass, where it focused on what Theream called the 'zone of optimum resonance.' packing up sound waves and reflecting them back to an interferonacter and photo element. BURAN was resistant to interferonant amost impossible to detect. Beria used a first against the chancery of the US Embassy and later ugainst the French and British missions in Moscow.

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In 1947, Bena uso cedered Therenin to develop a wreeks audio surveillance device. The result was a proncering feat oxdenanci BLRAN CSnow-

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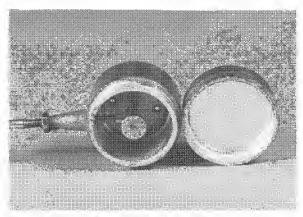
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Embassy claimed that "For a

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the Cold War." (1)



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With Therenan's knowledge and assistance, he also used it against stalin at a time when the dicintor's paramoia scenied poised to engulf the USSR in a new major domestic uphenval or a nuclear war. As a souvenir, Therenan kept tapes of Stalin's rayings = 0.5

While still a prisoner. Theremin received a stillin Prize, which was awarded anonymously for an unidentified contribution to Soviet intelligence (possibly BI RAN). The Soviet dictator, a lan of Theremin is, personally upgraded the prize from class IJ to class IJ. The prize carried an award of approximately \$20,000 (worth about ten times that aurount today), a furnished apartment, and even maid service (11).

Little is known about Therenun's life from 194° when be was released, utail the mid-1904's Even his Russian blographer failed to pry details from mm. He tried to rebuild his life. and return to his inventions. He found treedom difficult, however. Missing the order and pure research opportunities of the sharashka, he asked the KGB to hire him as a "free" research scientist. Theremin spent the next 20 years work ing in what the Soviets called "madboxes," secret facilities known only by their postal box numbers : Theremin's very

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^{*} Galinsky († př. 250-265, 270-anic sen 115

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Two trips [abroad] paved the way for a triumphal return to America in 1991, where Theremin had become an icon of sorts.

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theremin's use in popular science-fiction and suspense films. ²⁶ His reputation had also been burnished by the serious attention being paid to electronic music as a result of the Moog synthesizer. ²⁷ In Moscow, Theremin gave Schonberg a tour of the small lab that he had set up and displayed some of his latest inventions. Schonberg wrote a flattering article that was widely read among afficionados. ²⁸ (U)

For years after the encounter, Western academics and artists invited Theremin to the West, but Soviet authorities—afraid perhaps of the secrets he still

Finally, in 1988, Moscow News ran a three-part series about him, mentioning among other things his espionage in America, the secret Stalin Prize, and BURAN.29 A year later, Theremin was allowed to attend an experimental music festival organized by UNESCO in Bourges, France. In 1990, he was a guest performer at the Electronic Music Festival in Stockholm. These two trips paved the way for a triumphal return to America in 1991, where Theremin had become an icon of sorts. He took part in a three-day seminar at Stanford and then returned to New York to visit his old haunts and those of his friends who were still alive. Theremin's reputation was also growing inside Russia. In 1992, the Theremin Center for electronic music at the Moscow Conservatory opened. (U)

held-refused to let him leave.

In 1993, American filmmaker Steven Martin produced a feature length documentary entitled Theremin: An Electronic Odyssey. He used footage he shot in 1991 in New York and an interview with Theremin in Moscow a year later. The film first aired on the BBC in March 1993, just two days before Theremin died at age 97. It was also shown at the 1995 New York Film Festival, and eventually won the Filmmaker's Trophy at the Sundance Film Festival in 2000. In March 1995, the Kennedy Center's

Resurfacing (U)

At some point in the early 1960s, like millions of other "repressed persons" (the Soviet legal term), Theremin was officially absolved of past crimes and "rehabilitated." In 1964, he began working in the Moscow Acoustic Tape and Recording Department of the Moscow State Tchaikovsky Conservatory. He remained there until 1971, when he lost his position for continuing his work in electronic music, deemed too modern for Soviet socialist esthetics. He spent the final 20 years of his life working as a "grade six mechanic" in the Acoustics Department of Moscow Lomonosov University, (U)

existence was a state secret. He

was not allowed to contact rela-

tives or friends. He was always

accompanied by bodyguards

and often worked on sensitive

projects under armed guard. (U)

America's rediscovery of Theremin began with a chance encounter in April 1967— Harold Schonberg, chief music critic for the New York Times. spotted Theremin at the Moscow Conservatory. For Theremin's former friends in New York, this was the first sign of life since 1938. For years rumors had circulated that he had been executed in 1945 or shortly thereafter. Theremin, for his part, was unaware of the revival of American interest in his life, his work, and his music machine, due in part to the

26 Because of the eerie sounds that the theremin produced-one critic said it sounded like a violin being played under water-it became popular with Hollywood film composers, who used it to produce sound tracks for such movies as The Day the Earth Stood Still, The Thing, and Spellbound. One can even see a theremin in operation in Jerry Lewis's comedy The Delicate Delinquent. Later, the Beach Boys rekindled interest in the theremin by using it in Good Vibrations, their only million-selling single. (U) 27 Inventor Robert Moog had built theremins in high school and college. He wrote the introduction to Theremin's American biography and was largely responsible for keeping interest in the Russian inventor alive in the United States.

²⁹ Glinsky, pp. 320-334. (U)

²⁸ Harold C. Schonberg, "Music: Leon Theremin," *New York Times*, 26 April 1967, p. 40. (U)

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Theremin's bug in the Great Seal played an inadvertent role in the CIA's internal molehunt of the 1960s and 1970s, which demoralized the clandestine service.

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clandestine service and disrupted operations. KGB defector Anatoly Golitsyn made the link in 1961. Golitsyn warned the Agency of a mole named "Sasha." who was of Slavic origin, had spent several years in Germany, and had a name that began with "k" and ended in "ski." The defector claimed that the mole was a CIA officer who had been assigned to analyze the cavity resonating microphone found in Spaso House. (U)

A subsequent investigation led to Peter Karlow, an up and coming operations officer who headed the panel charged with analyzing the Soviet audio device. An Office of Strategic Services (OSS) veteran who had lost a leg during World War II, Karlow had a technical orientation and was in line to head the Agency's Technical Services Division. His life was turned upside down by Golitzyn's accusation.30 In January 1962, at the Agency's request, the FBI put Karlow under electronic and physical surveillance for a

year. When nothing turned up, the Bureau dropped the case, with the concurrence of the CIA's Office of Security. James Angleton of the Agency's Counterintelligence Staff, however, refused to accept Karlow's innocence. Karlow was forced to resign in September 1963 without ever knowing that he was mole suspect number one. Years later, he was one of several previously discredited CIA officers who received back pay, pensions, and compensation, as well as, in Karlow's case, the Career Intelligence Medal.31 (U)

Given the damage done directly and indirectly, the Intelligence Community can take at least some satisfaction from the fact that the sophisticated cavity resonator technology was subsequently turned back against its Soviet perpetrators. ⁵² Until the Theremin bug was found in Spaso House, CIA technical experts had denigrated Soviet intelligence's technical capabilities. Set back on their heels by the discovery of the device, senior Agency

American Film Institute Theater organized a showing of Hollywood films whose soundtracks used theremins. These were fitting tributes, since the Russian genius's invention had far more impact on the movie industry than on haute culture. Over time, Martin's film played to large audiences in the United States, Europe, and Japan, creating interest in Theremin and leading to the establishment of an international club for enthusiasts. (U)

American composer and musicologist Albert Glinsky published Theremin: Ether Music and Espionage, the best and most comprehensive biography of the inventor, in 2000, The book was based on the author's prize-winning 1992 Ph.D. dissertation at New York University. The bibliography of books and articles about Theremin and his creations continues to grow. There are dozens of websites devoted to him, and Theremin tee-shirts are sold on the Internet. (U)

Payback (U)

Adulation from the music world aside, Theremin's genius caused significant problems for US intelligence over the years. In addition to spawning a series of sophisticated audio devices used against the United States worldwide, Theremin's bug in the Great Seal played an inadvertent but key role in the CIA's internal molehunt of the 1960s and 1970s that demoralized the

³² The story of how Theremin's technology was turned around comes from an interview of former CIA officer

 $\Box_{}(b)(3)(c)$

Tape and transcript are available from the CIA History Staff Oral History Project. (8)

³⁰ This account of Karlow's tribulations is based on Mangold, pp. 254-257, 266, 273, and 356; and Wise, Chapter 2 (U)

³¹ Years later, the CIA determined that there was a "Sasha," but that he was a Russian émigré who had worked as a contract employee in West Germany before opening an art gallery in Alexandria, Virginia He was nor the source of information on the audio surveillance device The culprit in this case was George Blake, a KGB mole inside British intelligence (U)

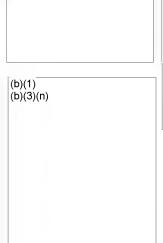
(b)(1)

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Theremin's story should give pause to those who assume that scientific achievement requires political freedom.

bope and bopelessness. His life was a microcosm of these dueling scenarios and he spent most of his nearly one hundred years shuttling back forth between them.34 (U)

Interestingly, for all of his brilliance, Theremin chose the Soviet system over the American way of life. He elected to return to the Motherland in 1938, volunteered to work for the Soviet government after his release from detention, and declined petitions to emigrate late in life. He campaigned for admission to the Communist Party for many years, finally receiving his party card just weeks before the August 1991 attempted coup that undid the Soviet empire. "I promised Lenin I would," he explained to a Russian friend who questioned his reasons. 35 Theremin's story should give pause to those who assume that scientific achievement requires political freedom or that the benefits of the Western way of life exert a compelling attraction on the rest of the world. (U)



officials

(b)(3)(n)

(b)(1)

Theremin in Perspective (U)

Taking a broad view, Theremin remains a fascinating character not the least because he managed to bridge two dramatically divided worlds. As his American biographer put it:

[Theremin's story] is nothing less than a metaphor for the divergence of communism and capitalism, totalitarianism and freedom, luxury and drudgery,

35 Dulles knew the

who fought in the anti-Nazi underground, from his OSS days (U)

⁽b)(1)(b)(3)(n)

³⁴ Glinsky, pp. 6-7. (U) 35 Bulat M. Galeyev, "Light and Shadows of a Great Life." (U)

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